

A⁶
PERSVASION
to the English Recusants, to Reconcile
themselves to the Church of
England.

*Written for the better satisfaction of
those which be ignorant.*

By Iohn Doue Doctor of Diuinitie.

PSAL. 72.

*Give thy iudgement to the King, O God, and thy righteousness
to the Kings sonne.*

1. PET. 2.

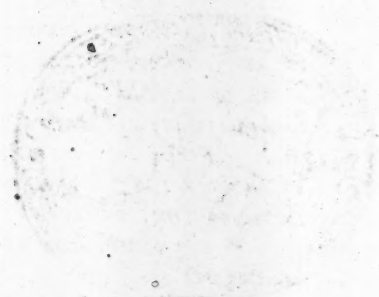
Fear God, Honour the King.



Printed at London by V.S. for Cuthbert Burby dwelling
in Panles church-yard at the signe of the
Swanne. 1603.

P.T.

to the





To the most High and

Mighty Prince,

JAMES by the grace of God, King of
England, Scotland, France and Ireland,
Defendour of the Faith.

* *
*



Gracious and dread Soueraigne, I say the truth, I lie not, my conscience bearing me witnes in the Holy-ghost, that I haue with the Apostle great heauinesse, and continuall sorrow in my heart for many of my brethren and Country-men. And my hearty desire and prayer for them to God, is, that they may be saued. For I beare them recorde, that they haue the Zeale of God, though not according to knowledge, which is the onely cause that mooued me to write this short Treatise. And, because God of his great goodnesse hath vouchsafed your tender yeeres the education of TIMOTHIE, and indued your Highnesse, since your happy gouernement with princely gifts, knowledge to discerne truth, and Zeale to maintaine truth, I humbly present vnto your Maiestie, these few lines, containing a subiect of so great importance. The common voyce, and hope

The Epistle.

of your best affected people is, that your Highnesse hath a religious intent, to make God yet better knowne in IYDA, and his name yet greater in HIERSALEM, to bring all these your Kingdomes to the acknowledgement and profession of one truth; so that hereafter HIERSALEM may be as a walled towne and fenced cittie, which is as vnitie within it selfe: and as it was in the dayes of the IYDGES, all ISRAEL may be gathered together, as one man, from DAN to BEERSHEBA, unto the Lord in MISHPAH. The Lord guide and prosper you in all your wayes, the Lord establish your house and kingdome, the Lord blesse you out of SION, that you may see the wealth of HIERSALEM all the dayes of your life, that you may see your Childrens Children, and peace in SION.

Your Maiesties humble
Subiect,

JOHN DOVE,



¶ A Perswasion to the English Recu-
sants, to reconcile themselves to
the Church of England.

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CHAP. I.

*It is not enough for them, to pray privately, but it is also required,
that they ioyne in prayer with the Congregation.*



Although the prayers of the faithfull are heard, if they be faithfully made, in what places soeuer, because our Saviour saith: *Matthew 7*
Whosoever asketh, he shall receiue, and *Luke 18*
therefore, not the Publican onely was *2. Reg. 20*
heard in the Temple, but also King E-
zekiel in his Chamber, *Elias* vnder the
Juniper tree, *Ionas* in the bottome of the *Iona 2 oratio*
Sea, *Manasse* in the p^rison: Yet the Church is a place more e-
Manass's.
specially appoynted for prayer, it is called the house of prayer, *Matth 21.*
and God is more peculiarly present in that house, than in all o-
ther houses. Of the Temple we reade, that Gods eyes were o-
pen towards that house night and day, his name was especially
there, he harkened to the prayers of his Seruants which stretch-
ed forth their handes in that place, and of them which were in
captiuitie, if they turned towards that house which was built for
his name. A greater promise is made to the prayers of many v-
nited together, than of one, and a more fauourable presence of
Christ amongst them which make their ioynt petition; in-
somuch, that when a congregation is ioyned together in his
name, he will be in the midst of them, and if they agree in earth

1. Reg. 8

Matth 18

upon any thing, whatsoever they shall desire, it shall be giuen of his Father which is in heaven.

2. Ezra 8

If we lay before our eyes the Stories of the Bible, the exercise of the godly was such. In the dayes of *Ezra* the Scribe it was so: All the people assembled themselues together, hee brought the booke of the Law of *Moses* before the assembly of men and women, and all that could heare and vnderstand; he read from morning vntill mid-day vnto them, the eares of all the people harkened to the booke of the Law, he preached to them out of a wooden Pulpit, he praised the Lord the great God, and al the people answered, A M E N, A M E N, with lifting vp their hands, and they bowed themselues, and worshipped the Lorde with their faces towards the ground. In the newe Testament their maner was to meete together on the Saboth day, to ioyne in prayer, and to heare the word preached, and to receiue the sacraments. In the Acts of the Apostles at *Antiochia* was maintained a Lecture of the Law and the Prophets. Saint *Paul* deliuered words of exhortation there after the Lecture, and they besought him to preach to them the same sermon againe the next Saboth.

Act. 14

Act. 17

Saint *Paul* and his company being at *Philippi* on the Saboth day, went out of the Citty by a riuer where they were accustomed to pray, there he preached and conuerted *Lydia*. And no doubt, but if our Recusants would heare our Sermons, many of them also would be conuerted. Vpon the Lords day at *Troas* the disciples were gathered together, to break bread, a multitude was gathered together, and *Paul* preached to them. When *Peter* was in prison, the Churchmaking a ioynt petition for him, obtained a speedy and miraculous deliery. And it was obserued as an especiall vertue in the primitiue Church, that they continued together in prayer and breaking of bread, and that they had all one heart. And to this purpose Saint *Paul* exhorteth them saying: I beseech you brethren, in the name of the Lord Iesus Christ, that ye all speake one thing, that ye be knit together in one mind and iudgement. And againe; the God of patience and consolation graunt, that you may be like-minded one to another according to Christ Iesus, that you with one mind, and one mouth, praise God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ.

Act. 20

Act. 12

1. Corin. 1.

Rom. 15.

The true markes of the visible Church of God, are the hearing

ing of the word, the participation of the sacraments and publike prayer, as out of the scriptures I haue declared. Let vs therefore examine the groundes whereupon so many of our nation, which would especially be accounted of the true church, withdraw themselves from our publike assemblies, refuse to ioyne with vs in so Christian exercises; inasmuch, that whereas it was wont to be reputed a punishment to be interdicted, suspended, and like Lepers, to be shut out of the Congregation, they now like Lepers exclude themselves. Saint *Ambrose* needeth not now to excommunicate *Theodosius*, for hee will excommunicate himselfe, Suzof. l. 7. c. 24 and we haue as much neede to whip them into the Temple, as our Sauour had to whippe them out, as hee did in the storie of the Gospel. They alleadge for themselves, they do communicate together in prayer, though not with vs; they haue their conuenticles and Masses in their chambers, and the exercise of their owne religion; but that it is against their conscience to come to our churches, that we are Heretikes, Scismatickes, not members of the Catholike Church of *Rome*, not at vnity among our selues, and consequently, that they may not safely communicate with vs. Ioh. 2.

CHAP. II. *Of conscience.*

THe ignorant Recusant being perswaded by the Minister, or required by the Magistrate, to shew his conformitie and obedience to Lawes, by resorting to the parish Church, where he dwelleth: when hee is not able to answer such arguments as are objected against him, nor in any sorte to defend his owne Religion, pretendeth his Conscience, and saith: It is against my conscience, to come to your Church, and whatsoever I doe against my conscience, is sinne. I confesse that whatsoever is done without testimonie and warrant of conscience, is sin to them which doe it, be the thing which is done, in it selfe neuer so lawfull, because the Apostle saith: He that doubteth, is condemned if he eate, because he eateth not of faith; and whatsoever is not of faith, is sinne. Rom. 14. In which wordes, by faith is vnderstood Conscience. But by the way, they must see that their conscience be rightly informed, else it will be their damnation. For, as Matth 26.
Act 9 it

it was sinne in Saint *Peter* to deny Christ, when in his conscience hee knew that hee did euill : so it was sinne in Saint *Paul* to persecute Christ, when hee thought in his conscience hee did well. Therefore, it is not onely damnable to do contrary to their conscience, but also to doe according as their conscience shall direct them, if they be not perswaded by the truth. Therefore, let them not deceiue themselves, taking that for conscience, which is but an error of conscience, and indeede a false perswasion of their minds, in follovvng that which the ignorance of their owne fantasies and blinde conceites doth leade them vnto, without seeking any further. For so in his zeale *Vzza* supported the Arke when it was ready to fall, his conscience perswading him that hee did wel, although it vvas displeasing vnto God. So saint *Paul* speaketh of himselfe, that he vvas zealous tovvardes God vvhen he persecuted, and so our Sauour fore-warneth his disciples, that men shall excommunicate them, that the time shall come, that whosoever killeth them, shall thinke hee doth God good seruice; and hee sheweth the reason of this their error. These things saith hee, they will doe vnto you, because they haue not knowne the Father, nor me.

Therefore, for their better instruction, I wil define vnto them what Conscience is. Conscience, I say, is an application of a generall knowledge grounded vppon Gods word to particular actions and intents. Or thus: conscience is a kinde of argumentation or praetike syllogisme, whereby, out of a generall proposition, we doe, by a particular conclusion, absolue or condemne our selues, or others. In this syllogisme, the *maior* proposition is the inward sense and feeling of Gods iudgements, whereby we do reason and discourse of our actions, intents and purposes, hauiug before our eyes the rule of the lawe of God. The *minor* is the examination of our actions, intents, and purposes, according to that rule, the conclusion is our finall determination concerning our selues or others, what wee or they hauiug thus done, intended, and purposed, are to deeme or iudge of our selues or them. So then, in our conscience first we discourse, then we examine, and last of all wee determine. For example. In *Dauids* taking *Uriah* his wife, we may see what *Dauids* conscience was. First, he had this generall notion imprinted in his minde, and grounded

1. Chron. 13

Act. 22

Iohn 16

a. Sam. 11.

grounded vpon *Exodus*, that adulterie was damnation: and if *Exod. 20.* when he intended to take *Uriah* his wife, he had examined his intent by the rule of *Exodus*, hee had found it to be adulterie: and thirdly, after due examination had, finding his intent to be adulterie, hee could not but condemne himselfe in his owne conscience, that he was guiltie of damnation. According to this sense saith Saint *Paul*: They haue the effect of the Lawe written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witnesse, and their thoughts accusing or excusing one an other. *Rom. 1.*

Albeit conscience is sometimes taken only for the intellectuall power and facultie of our vnderstanding & reasonable soule, by which we are able thus to argue and discourse with our selues: so Saint *Paul* saith; Wee must obey Magistrates for conscience sake; that is, because of our owne reason, knowledge, and vnderstanding, which reuealeth so much light vnto vs: GOD will eternally punish disobedience, and therefore it shall not be safe for vs to charge and burthen our soules with the wrath of God. Sometimes for the *minor* alone, which is the examination of our actions and intents, whether they be good or euill: so the Apostle saith of himselfe; *Nihil mihi conscius sum*, I knowe nothing of my selfe, yet I am not thereby iustified; that is, I know no hainous crime wherewith I should be touched. Sometimes for the conclusion alone, so he saith: I haue in all good conscience serued God vntill this day; that is, I do absolue my selfe from any grieuous crime that I haue committed. *Rom. 13.* *1. Cor. 4.* *Act. 23.*

Now, the Recusants argue in this maner: No Heretikes nor Scismatices are to be communicated withall, but Protestants are Heretikes and Scismatices, and therefore not to be communicated withall. Their *maior* proposition is vndoubtedly true, because it is grounded vpon scripture, *Tum* the third? Reiect him that is an Heretike after two or three admonitions: and Saint *Iohn* in his second Epistle; Bid him not God speede: and *Rom. 16.* Marke them diligently which make diuision, and auoyde them. The error therefore, is in the *minor* or examination of this action of communicating with vs according to that generall rule, that no societie is to be had with Heretikes: for whereas they say wee are Heretikes, it is not true. Neither is it maruell though our Recusants haue erred concerning vs, seeing that Saint *Peter* and the

Act. 10.

Disciples haue erred concerning the like. When the sheete was let downe, wherein were all manner of beastes, and Saint *Peter* was bidden to arise, kill, and eate: Hee answered: Not so Lorde: for I neuer ate any meate that was vncleane. And therefore hee argued in this manner: No vncleane meates are to bee eaten: But these meates are vncleane, therefore they are not to be eaten. The *Maier* was true, because grounded vppon *Leuiticus* 11. *Deut.* 14. where the differences of meates are set downe. But in his *Minor* he was deceiued, which thought those meates to be vncleane, for as much as vnder the Gospel, the difference of meates was taken away, and no meate was polluted, in respect of the conscience of man. So then, as it was not Saint *Peters* conscience, but the error of his conscience, when he refused the meates as vncleane, which God had sanctified and made lawfull; so it is not their conscience, but the error of their conscience that they refuse vs for schisme & heresie, which indeed are true gospellers and members of the mysticall body of Iesus Christ, as by Gods assistance I wil proue. And as the Disciples, not knowing of *Pauls* conuerſation, were afraide to ioyne with him, supposing him to be a persecuter when he was a Preacher: so they feare to ioyne with vs, supposing vs to be in the wrong way, whereas indeed we be in the right.

Act. 9.

And because I haue saide, it is not vpon conscience that they sequester themselves from vs, I will shew them how many wayes a mans conscience may erre and be deceiued, and so carried away from the truth, and they are these eight following. The first is ignorance, so the common sort ignorantly alledge we are heretikes, that our religion is not warrantable, but cannot know what heresie is, neither yet rightly conceiue the groundes either of our religion of their owne. For they are inhibited to heare our Sermons, to reade our bookes, to haue conference with vs, or to be catechized by vs. How then should they knowe our religion? They are nourished in blindness by their owne teachers, which hold it as a principle, that it is fit they should be ignorant. Neither are they permitted to haue the Bible in their mother tongue. How then can they know their owne religion? They are vnfurnished and vtterly destitute of all meanes and helpes which may bring them to be able to discern truth from heresie.

Vide Cōcil.
Trid. & Pres.
in indicem
expurg. &
Grég. Mart.
de schis.

The

The second is negligence. So they which in some measure are learned, doo call vs heretikes, which can, but doo not reade our bookes, although they haue them, nor examine the groundes which wee hold, although they are able, and it is permitted vnto them. Concerning their owne doctrine, they are contented to receiue it for truth, vpon the credit of others without further prooffe, and to see with other mens eyes, heare with other mens eares, speake with other mens tongues, because they will not spend so much time as to search further, and what slander foeuer they doo heare of vs, they are readie to beleue it. For example, *Campion* slandereth our Church, as if we did offer violence to the holy scriptures, affirming that *Luther* wrote contumeliously of Saint *Iames* his Epistle: his disciples blush not to report the same, because hee hath written it, without further enquire, whether hee writ the truth or not, whereas if they would but vouchsafe to examine the place for their owne satisfaction, they would finde it a slander, which they because of their slouthfulness do holde for a truth. They are contented to buy *Campion* alone, and *Gregorie Martine* his Preface, with the notes of the Seminaries of *Rhemes*, vpon the New Testament, and now and then to reade them. But as for Doctor *Whitaker* his answer, many of them suffer it not to be in their studies, or if it bee in the Catalogue of their liberarie, they do not reade it. And as for doctor *Fulkes* answer to *Gregorie Martines* Preface, and the notes of the Seminaries, they are so farre from conferring the one with the other, that so they might be satisfied and resolved of the truth, as they are contented to giue more mony for the Rhemish Testament alone, then for the same booke with Doctor *Fulkes* answer ioyned with it.

The third is obstinacie. For, as the first cannot, because they be ignorant and vnable to iudge, and deprived of all meanes by which they may be enabled; and the second do not iudge rightly because they are slouthfull, and loth to take so much paines as to trie the spirites, to examine doctrine, and conserre places: So the third sort of men will not vnderstand the truth, because they be obstinate, they will resist the holy Ghost, and stop their eares against the truth, as the adder doth against the charmer, and as the Iewes did against Saint *Stephen*. Wee shall not perswade

- Rom. 10.* them although wee doo perswade them, because instruction and faith commeth by hearing, they wil not heare least they should be instructed, and beleue the truth. They say their fathers professed that religion, and therefore they will rather erre with their fathers than embrace the truth with vs : like *Rachel*, which would not leaue behinde her the gods of her Father, but carrie them with her. They were brought vp and instructed in this religion from their childhood, and now they say they will not alter. They forgot the rule of the Apostle, which willeth them to make tryall of all, and then to hold that which is best. For they will heare none, they will holde what they haue held, and they will not alter for the better. And in so doing, what do they but as *Pharao* did, who saide : Who is the Lord, that I should heare his voice, and let *Israel* goe? I know not the Lord, neither will I let *Israel* goe. Whereas the Prophet saith: To day if ye will heare his voice, harden not your hearts.

- The fourth is perplexitie, vnstayednesse, and trouble of mind, like vnto *Saule*, which after he had put away the Sorcerers and Soothsayers out of the Land : yet when he was terrified by the armie of the Philistines, seeing it to be very great, and could haue no answere from God, neither by dreames, nor *Urim*, nor Prophets, asked counsell of a Witch at *Endor* : So diuers which haue renounced that religion, and imbraced ours, yet lying at the point of death, in the midst of their conflicts and tentations, thinking vpon the arguments which are brought on each side, and fearing to halt betweene two opinions, and so die vnresolved; because they haue not had at that instant conference with such as were able to resolute them of all their doubts; haue suddenly reuolted, and not onely followed the example of *Lots* wife, which looked backe vnto *Sodome*, but also of the people which haue saide, come let vs goe backe into *Egipt* againe.

- The fift is pride, and their owne insolencie, whereby they are puffed vp, and thinke that all men must be subiect vnto them, but they neede submit themselues vnto none. As *Bernardinus Ochinus* writ a Booke in defence of Poligamie, affirming that *numerofum coniugium*, multitude of wiues was lawfull: supposing that after his Maister *Peter Martyr* was dead, no man was able to match him in writing or in disputation: like *Goliath* of *Gath*, which chal-

challenged all commers to the combat. And this is the speciall cause why Popes and generall Councels doe erre, because they hold it as a principle in their Diuinitie that they cannot erre. For what doctrine will they bee afraide to publish; which are thus perswaded of themselves? Nay, who falls so soone as they which thinke their footing to be so fast that they cannot fall? Therefore the Apostle giueth this aduice: *Qui videtur sibi stare, videas ne cadat*. He that thinketh that he standeth, let him take heede lest he fall. 1. Cor. 10.

The sixth is singularity: They will holde their opinions because they will dissent from vs, as if it were impossible that they and we should agree together in one truth. They thinke themselves to be Saint *John*, and vs to be *Cerinthus*, as if that Bath could not be wholesome where *Cerinthus* doth wash himselfe; themselves to be Iewes, and vs to be Samaritans, as if it were vnlawfull for them to drinke water out of our bucket which we doe draw; as if they would not haue any place in the Kingdome of heauen, but relinquish all their right and inheritance there, if they did thinke we should come thither. Euen as some in our Church, although otherwise graue and learned, yet refuse some good and wholesome lawes and orders, because they were, as they thinke, deuised by the Church of *Rome*. It is not a sufficient Argument, that because we hold it, therefore the doctrine should be hereticall, as it is no good consequent, that because they hold it, it should be sound, and orthodoxall. So then what is their prooffe, but a woman reason, it is so, because it is so; I will haue it so, because I thinke so.

Non amo te Voluci, non possum dicere quare,

Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.

The seuenth is inordinate affection, and loue of themselves, for some will make their conscience incline to their owne wil and affections, and not frame their desires according to conscience. For example, they thinke that religion soundest, which doe h most of all serue their turne, as the King *Ahab* iudged those Prophets to be best which preached pleasing things; but concerning *Micheas*, which prophecied other things then the King would haue him to prophecie, it was said: Put this man in prison, feede him with the bread of affliction, and water of affliction. 1. Reg. 22.

So, because of their corrupt and fleshy nature they doe incline to libertie, they thinke that religion most probable which doeth fauour their affections most; that is, which holdeth simple fornication to be no sinne, that offences may be redeemed by monie, that ordinarie faults which they commit, are not *peccata*, but *peccadilla*, not finnes, but trifles, which are easily pardoned and dispensed withall.

The last is pusillanimitie, or weakenesse of minde, when they feare that which in sincere iudgement they ought not to feare, as namely the dislike of their friends, the rebuke of their enemies, the voyce of the people, the good or bad report of other men, who will obiekt apostasie against them. So Saint *Peter*, though *Matt. 26.* he knew Christ, yet said he knew not the man, for feare of rebuke. And *Nicodemus*, although conuerted to be a Christian, yet kept his place and profession among the Pharises still, least it should be said vnto him as afterward it was in the Gospel: Art thou also of *Galile*? Some relie vpo the opinion of great Doctors, whose iudgement they would, in modestie preferre before their owne, and in respect of them, somewhat distrust themselues, though they see euident demonstrations to perswade them otherwise. As the Iewes would not belecue in Christ, for feare of the Pharises, although they saw a manifest signe, *Lazarus* raised from dead. They feare least it should be vpbraided vnto them as it was in the Gospel: Doe any of the Rulers belecue in him, but onely this people which know not the Law and are accursed? As Cardinall *Pole* in his death-bed, said, the protestants are the soulder men, I would be a protestant were it not for the Church of *Rome*: whereas they should not so much respect the opinion of this Doctour or that Rabbi, when they see the plaine and open way lie before them, but preferre a manifest trueth aboue all. Therefore it behooueth our Countrey men to informe their consciences better, and not to lay it vpon their conscience that they liue disorderly, and disobedient to Christian lawes.

Vide Gre-
gor. Mart in
tract. de.
Scism.

CHAP. III. Of Heresie.

They lay heresie to our charge, as if so be that we were like to *Sernerus*, *Cerinthus*, & *Arrius*. If we be heretiks, they do well

well to reſtraine our companie. But that we may the better proceed in this argument, for the purgation of our ſelues, let vs firſt define what hereſie is. Secondly, let vs inquire by what Court or Conſiſtory we are condemned of hereſie. Thirdly, let vs ſet downe the fundamentall points of our Doctrin, that it may appeare whether we were iuſtly condemned or no? Which being done, we ſhall not onely cleare our ſelues from iuſt ſuſpition of hereſie, but alſo demonſtrate how the greateſt Papiſts in the world, for learning and iudgement, do imbrace the ſame, and agree in them, with vs, not as if we did conforme our ſelues vnto them, becauſe wee holde the ſame concluſions which we haue alwayes held, but they ſeeing their owne errorrs laide open before them, and being in their owne conſciences conicted by a manifeſt trueth, do dayly, ſo farre as they dare, and may without the generall notice of the world, come neerer vnto vs, as if our doctrine in their knowledge were the ſoundeſt. And therefore, why ſhould not the inferiour ſorte of Catholikes which are but their diſciples doe the like? The Church of *Rome* being taxed by *Luther* for their diſcipline as looſe, and their doctrine as erroneous, called the Councell of *Trent*, to deuife a reformation, ſeeing that in the eyes of the world they were not ſlandered. In that counſel they ſet forth ſuch wholeſome Canons concerning Diſcipline as were fit for a reformed Church, but they were not ſo carefull of their points of Doctrin, becauſe they ſaw the world could ſooner looke into their diſorders, then iudge of their doctrine, and ſo did as it were yeeld *Luthers* complaint in parte to be iuſt. As for the doctrine, although they hold in termes the ſame which they did before, becauſe Princes and eſtates ſhould not thinke they had ſo long deceiued the world, and continued in error, and not eſpied the ſame vntill by *Luther* they had bin diſcouered, and as it were by him awaked like men which were in a dreame ſo many yeeres: yet they ſet downe their concluſions ſo cunningly, as if they would beare men in hand that they were (in ſome ſort) but miſtaken, & inclined of themſelues ſomewhat vnto that which *Luther* perſwaded. Whereupon, ſome proteſtants ſuſpected that they had an intent, in time, to become *Lutherans*, onely it ſhould come of themſelues, and not by force of *Luthers* arguments, vntill *Andradus*, a man more audacious then the

the rest, to remove that hope of theirs, when he thought the Lutherans to be more cold, and the brunt almost passed over, tooke vpon him to expound the meaning of the *Tridentine* counsell, and to conster all points to as grosse sense as they were euer before. But nowe they beginne to incline to vs againe, insomuch that Cardinall *Bellarmino* late Diuinitie Reader of *Rome*, and the learnedest Diuine of that Church which now liueth, in the course of his controuerfie lectures, though where he deliuereth the state of the question he bringeth what may be brought on their side, for fashion sake, that he may auoide all suspicion of heresie with them: yet he handleth his matters so cunningly, and so doubtfully, that in his conclusions he agreeth with vs in many things, although in diuers termes, wherein his predecessors viterly dissented from vs. And in many things he sheweth himselfe to be so farre as he daereth, a Protestant, or at the least not a Papist: if we take papistrie to be that which before it was. And whosoever doth obserue him well, shal finde how he discouerseth of many things superfluous, like one which is more desirous to deceiue the time, to fill vp the page with varietie of reading multitudes of Fathers, and citations of places, then to refute vs. Yet his Volumes are allowed by the Inquisition, and he is rewarded for his learned workes. Therefore I say, papistrie is newly corrected and refined, they hold the same conclusions in generall termes which they did, but they hold them not as they did: they seele out new defences, as if they could not stand to the olde, & come neerer to vs in iudgement euery day. For so it hath pleased God in this latter end of the world to lighten their darknesse, and to quicken the dulnesse of their vnderstanding.

Touching the first, if they will vnderstand what heresie is, they must distinguish betweene heresie and error, for euery heresie is an error, but euery error is not an heresie. As there is one error in maners, and so euery haynous offence is called a crime, as the adulterie of *David*; but such offences as are committed only vpon infirmitie, are cald by the general name of errors; so there is another error in doctrine, and euery man which holdeth a wrong opinion is said to erre, as the Apostle did, which supposed the Kingdome of Christ to be of this world, and that the Gospel was not to be published to the Gentiles: and these errors were no heresies,

Actes 1.

Actes 11.

refies, but that which is heresie, is more dangerous and of an higher nature. It is an old saying: *Errare possum, hereticus esse nolo*, I may easily erre, as all men haue done, but an heretike I will not be.

I define an heresie in this maner: It is an error stiffly and obstinately defended and maintained, not by a consequent, but directly impugning some Article of faith. For example, the Disciples erred when they helde it necessarie to be circumcised, yet were not heretikes, because they were not obstinate; for they submitted themselves to the iudgement of the Church, and after due consultation was had, they consented to the truth. Again, that opinion, did not directly impugne faith, but onely by a consequent, for so saith the Apostle: Behold, I *Paul* say vnto you, if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing, for I testifie againe to euery one which is circumcised, that he is bound to keepe the whole Law. Then, if we allow of Circumcision, wee hold the Ceremoniall Law to be still in force, and by a consequent deny the death of Christ, by whose death onely that Law was abolished. But *Arius* was condemned for an heretike in the councell of *Nice* for these two causes: First, he defended his error obstinately, vntill his bellie burst, and bowels gushed out, not yeelding to the learned Bishops of the world, which convicted him by manifest places of the scriptures. Secondly, hee denied the Godhead of Christ contrary to the article of the Creede, which hath; and I beleue in Iesus Christ his onely son: and the doctrine of saint *Paul*, which saith hee was mightily declared to bee the Son of God by his resurrection from the dead: and of saint *Iohn*, which saith, God was the word. It is one thing therefore to denie the faith directly, as to say, Christ hath not yet suffered; and another thing to denie it by a consequent, as they which hold a necessitie of circumcision. But as for vs, we neither hold any opinions obstinately, because we wil recant & subscribe to the Church of *Rome*, if they can disprove vs by the scriptures: Neither doe we impugne any article of faith, because wee holde the Creed of the Apostles, of *Athanasius*, of *Nice*, of *Ephesus*, of *Constantinople*, which the Papists also do hold, and the same Bible which we receiued from them, and we expound all these as all godly and learned antiquitie hath expounded them before vs,

AA. 19

Gal. 5

Rom. 8

and therefore wee are vniuſſly charged with hereſie.

That I may come to the ſecond thing which I propoſed. No Church can be condemned and adiudged hereticall by any priuate cenſure, but it muſt be publike. Therefore they alleage for our condemnation, the decrees of the counsell of *Trent*, againſt the authoritie of which counsell we take theſe iuſt exceptions: Firſt, they call it a generall counsell, as if almoſt all the Diuines of the world had beene aſſembled there. Let vs therefore number how many were preſent. They reckon for the credit of that court-cell as preſent, ſixe Cardinalls, foure Legates, three Patriarkes, two and thirtie Archbiſhops, two hundred twentie eight Biſhops, and five Abbats. Wee denie not, but at the end of the counſel ſo many were procured to be there, but at the beginning, when matters were propounded, at the time when points of religion were argued and debated, they exceeded not the number of ſortie Biſhoppes, foure Legates, very ſmall aſſembly to deſerue the name of a generall counsell, to conſider of ſo many weightie cauſes. Onely therefore at the latter end, the Pope ſeeing almoſt all Biſhops to forbear comming thither, did create new Biſhops to make vp a number, and grace the counsell with their preſence, and to ſubſcribe to all conſluſions for forme ſake, which they did, neither here argued by others, nor yet well conſider of their felues. Therefore let indifferencie be the Iudge betweene them and vs, whether ſo raſh a cenſure was to ſtand in force. Secondly, who were there? onely our aduerſaries which were of a contrary religion, we were not preſent, ſo that they did not onely by vs, as the Pharifies did by our Satiour, contrary to lawe condemne vs in our abſence and our cauſe being not heard, but alſo the ſame men were both our accuſers and our Iudges. If ye aſke a reaſon why we were not there? had wee letters of ſafe conduct? either could we haue truſted to ſuch conduct if it had bin granted? What if they ſhould haue falſified their promiſe made to vs, as they did to *John Huſ* in the counsell of *Conſtance*? eſpecially they holding ſuch a Principle, as they are not bound to keepe faith and fidelitie with an heretike. But ſuppoſe wee had beene preſent, wee ſhould haue ſtood for ciphers and not for a number, becauſe they were linked together in the ſame confederacie, to ſuffre nothing to paſſe which might be preiudiciall to the

Ioh. 7

the See of *Rome*. Thirdly, *Bellarmino* defineth those counceils, onely to be vniuersall, where all Bishops of the world either were or might be present, these be his words : *Ubi adfunt aut adesse possunt omnes Episcopi totius orbis*, and in the next chapter he defineth that counsell onely to be lawfull which the Pope hath approoued, and the catholikes generally haue receiued. But neither all could be present as I haue declared, neither haue the greater part of Catholikes yet receiued that counsell with the decrees thereof, for they are refused by the Catholikes of *Germanie, France, Hungary, Bohemy, Poland*, as our owne experience can tell vs.

In the third place, forasmuch as I haue shewed you, that Christians dwelling in one place are to meete together for the exercise of their religion, which consisteth in these three things, prayer, the word, and the Sacraments : Let vs examine the worde which we teach, the leiturgie or forme of prayers which we vse, the maner of our administration of the sacraments whereof wee would that they should be partakers.

Concerning the doctrine, as I saide before, wee holde with them the same Creede, and the same Bible, concerning which Bible these haue bin the chiefeft differences betweene them and vs, which follow.

First, whether all the books of the Bible be canonical or no? They affirme that *Tobie, Baruch, Iudith, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdomes, the Maccabees*, and the fragment of *Esther &c*. be canonical; we holde them for *Apocripha*. They prooue them to be canonical out of Saint *Augustine*; we, that they be *Apocripha* out of Saint *Hierome*, both which doctors are of no small authoritie with the Church of *Rome*, and therefore in this wee differ no more from them than Saint *Hierome* did from Saint *Augustine*, which did both agree, and were easily reconciled. S. *Hierome* interpreteth Saint *Augustines* meaning, that they were canonical enough to prooue rules of life, not groundes of doctrine and faith. Thus Saint *Hierome* answered Saint *Augustine* in the Primitiue Church, thus we haue answered the Papists of our age: and *Bellarmino* since this answer was given, handling this controverisie at large, replieth not against our answer. Onely he prouoeth in generall termes, that they be canonical, which we do

De verbo Dei
lib. 1. capitibus
7, 8, 9, 10, 11,
12, 13, 14, 15.

also confesse; but hee dooth not so much as mention this destruction of Cannons of faith, and Cannons of good life and manners; much lesse dooth hee reply against it, therefore wee take it *pro concessio*, as a thing graunted by the Lawes of disputations, that hee holdeth as wee holde, flieeth to our defence, and so resteth satisfied with our answer, and the case to be cleere betweene vs both.

Secondly: A question hath beene debated betweene vs concerning the Bible, forasmuch as there be many editions, as Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, which is the best? Wee say the Hebrew, they the Latine, and the councell of *Trent* hath obtruded to vs onely Latine edition, that is, the old vulgare translation, and decreed, that it onely should be authentickall and no other, that all others should be corrected by it, and it by none. Wee grant it fit, that for vniformitie in quotations of places in schools and pulpits, one Latine text should be vsed, and we can be contented, for the antiquitie thereof, to preferre that before all other Latine books, so much we do yeeld to the Councell: But forasmuch as that translation hath many faults, as al other translations haue, because they are the workes of men, we preferre the originall, that is, the olde Testament in the Hebrew, and the new in Greeke farre before it, forasmuch as they were written by the finger of God the Holy Ghost, which cannot erre. And *Bellarmino* condescendeth to our opinion, as more sound than the decree of the councell of *Trent*, shewing that wheresoeuer the Latine books do discent one from another, that it may be discerned, which is the truest, each of them to be examined by the originall, which is of greater authoritie, and the Latine bookes to be corrected by them, that onely to be sound, which agreeth with them, and that to be reiected, which discenteth from them. His words are these:

De verbo Dei
lib. 2. cap. 12

Ad aliud de emendatione Latinorum codicum ad Hebræos & Græcos respondet; quatuor temporibus licet nobis recurrere ad fontes Hebræos & Græcos, ut illi patres mouent. Primo quando in nostris codicibus videtur esse error librariorum &c: Secundo, quando Latini codices variant, ut non possit certo statui qua sit vera vulgata Lectio, possumus ad fontes recurrere, & inde inuari ad veram Lectionem, innuendam. Sic Iosue. quidam Latini codices habent: Quibus inuauit ut ostenderet illa terram lacte fluentem & melle,

qua-

quidam habent, ut non ostenderet &c. uera lectio videtur esse posterior. Nam in Hebræo constantèr additur, Non. Sicut è contrariò Iosue 11. Quidam codices habent: Non fuit ciuitas qua non se traderet: Quidam habent: Non fuit ciuitas qua se traderet, Et hoc est verum quid conforme est Hebræo, & verba sequentia id requirunt. Sic Luca 1. quidam codices habent: Redemptionem plebi sue: Quidam plebi sue, & hæc videtur verior, cum in Greco sit τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ.

A third question concerning the Bible is, whether all grounds of saluation, all things which are absolutely necessarie for a Christian man to know, be contained in the corpes and body of the Bible? They haue held, in times past, that the Bible was insufficient, and therefore they added vnto it traditions which they call vnrwritten verities, and would haue them to be of as great authoritie as the scriptures, as necessary to bee beleueed and obeyed. but now, *Bellarmino*, as if he were ashamed of that assertion, doth relinquish it, and after he hath spoken in the defence of traditions what he can, concludeth that all things which are necessary, are contained in the Apostles. His wordes are these: *Primum est, quedam in doctrinâ Christianâ tam fidei quam morum esse simpliciter omnibus necessaria, ad salutem, qualis est notitia, articulorum, Symboli & Apostolici, item cognitio decem, præceptorum, & nomini-
lorum, sacramentorum. Cetera non ita necessaria sunt, ut sine eorum explicatâ notitiâ, & fide & professione saluari homo non possit, modo promptam habeat voluntatem, ea suscipiendi & credendi, quando sibi fuerint legitimè per Ecclesiam, proposita &c. His notatis, dico, illa omnia scripta esse ab Apostolis, que sunt omnibus necessaria, & qua ipsi palam omnibus vniuersè prædicauerunt: alia autem, non omnia scripta esse. But whatsoever they can prooue out of the Bible, we will receiue as for things which are not necessarie, although we dissent concerning them, they ought not therefore to refuse to communicate with vs.*

A fourth question is, of the authoritie of the scriptures, and who ought of right to be iudge of the same. They were wont to hold the Church, that is, the generall Councell, to be aboue the scriptures, and the vndoubted iudge of the same; we the contrarie. Now *Bellarmino* condescendeth vnto vs, that the iudgement of the church specified in the councel of *Trent* may so farre be subiect to the scriptures, as to be examined by the scriptures,

*Vide Concil.
Trident.*

*De verbo Dei
lib. 4. cap. 19*

*De verbo Dei
lib. 3. cap. 12.*

and that the authority of the Church is inferior to the authority of the scriptures. His words are these: *Addo etiam, quid est hereticus peccat aut uando de auctoritate Ecclesie, in quam per Baptismum regeneratus est, neq. est eadem, conditio heretici qui semel fidem professus est; Et Iudei aut Ethnici, qui nunquam fuit Christiani statum, posita hoc dubio, Et hoc peccato, non male facit scrutando Et examinando, an loca scriptura Et Patrum, à concilio Tridentino prelatum se habent, modum faciat intentione inueniendi veritatem non calumniam de. Deberet quidem ille sine examine recipere doctrinam Ecclesie, sed tamen melius est, ut examinando preparatur ad veritatem, quam negligentia remanet in suis rebus.* And againe in the same Chapter. *Decernimus quantum argumentum: Si Pontifex indicat de scripturis, sequitur Pontifex, seu concilium esse supra scripturam, et si scriptura sentiat sine Pontifice seu concilio non est authenticum, sequitur verbum Dei accipere robur Et firmitatem à verbo Ecclesie.* Respondet hoc argumentum quod ab hereticis placuit, et totum in equiuocatione versari: Nam duobus modis potest intelligi Ecclesiam indicare de scripturis: uno modo quod iudicat, id est iudicat sententiam quod scriptura docet: altero modo, quod positiui fundamētis certissimo scriptura verba esse verissima iudicat quasi vera eorum interpretatio. Et quidem, si primo modo Ecclesia iudicat, verè esset supra scripturam, sed hoc non dicimus, quia huiusmodi calumniantur ad nos dicere, qui passim vociferantur nos subiectione scripturam ponimus Papa. Et secundo modo indicare Ecclesiam vel Pontifex de scripturis, quod nos asserimus, non est Ecclesiam esse supra scripturam, sed supra iudicia principum hominum. Non enim iudicat Ecclesia de veritate scriptura sed de intelligentia sua Et mea, Et aliorum, Neq. hinc sumit verbum Dei aliquod robur, sed intelligentia nostra. Non enim scriptura est verior aut certior, quia sic ab Ecclesia exponitur, sed mea sententia est verior quando ab Ecclesia confirmatur.

Thus I could goe almost through all the controuersies betweene them and vs. But I doe content my selfe with the fundamentall points. Therefore I exhort them which hold vs for heretikes, first, to reade diligently, to peruse and examine their owne writers, and what they hold, to confesse their groundes with ours, and then to examine their owne iudgements, whether they finde vs heretikes or no. And as for those matters, which

be no fundamentall poyntes, although in them wee dissent; wee must not dispaire of their conuersion. For God neither hath nor will reueale vnto them all trueth at once, but, as the blind man in the Ghospell, when hee first beganne to see, thought hee sawe men walking like trees, but when our Saviour touched his eyes againe, he saw more clearly: So God will lighten the darknesse of their hearts, and take away the vaile or covering which is before them, by degrees, vntill they come to the full measure of knowledge, which the Holy Ghost shall iudge expedient to be reuealed vnto them.

Marke. 8

Of Faith and Workes.

TO leaue these generall grounds, and to dispute more particularly. They hold, with Saint *Iames*, that workes do iustifie; we with Saint *Paul*, iustification by Faith; and sith these two Apostles differ in wordes, and not in meaning, why should wee disagree, holding the same which they doe hold? Faith goeth before, and workes follow after iustification, but both do iustifie: so Saint *Paul* argueth from that which is precedent; Saint *Iames* argueth from that which is subsequent, and both argue well. According to the Grammaticall signification of the word, as to iustifie signifieth, *iustum facere*, to make a man iust: so neither faith nor yet workes do iustifie, but God alone, according to the acception which is vsed in Law, as to iustifie signifieth, *iustum declarare*, to absolve a man and pronounce him iust out of the mouth of a iury or a Iudge, so faith which is inuisible iustifieth vs before the inuisible god, which seeth our inuisible faith, & workes which are visible, iustifie vs before visible men, which see our workes as they be visible and sensible things. As the Angels when they came vnto *Lot*, had not beene intertained, had they not cloathed themselves with bodily shapes, so men cannot discern our faith vnlesse it be as it were cloathed and beautified with workes. But to speake of that which is worst: They hold that workes are meritorious, and therefore they worke that they may merit heauen, we ascribing lesse vnto our selues, and more vnto God, thinke not so honourably of our workes, and yet wee thinke workes as necessary as they doe, and therefore wee will worke,

Iam. 2.

Rom. 5.

Gen. 19

Phil. 1.

workes, and we will worke, that we may be saved, and wee will worke out our saluation with feare and trembling. Wee holde workes necessarie for them which will inherit, but not for them which will merit, and therefore we worke not that wee may merit, yet that we may inherit, and our workes haue these foure necessary uses, that by them we may glorifie God, benefite our neighbour, exercise our faith, and make our election sure. For with vs this is the very definition of a worke: An action of the regenerate according to the Law of God, done to these ends, that God, by it may be glorified, our neighbor profited, our faith exercised, and our election confirmed. And although wee worke not for that end as they do, yet because without workes we must not thinke to please God, wee will worke as much as they doe, and the same workes which they doe, with the same zeale which they doe, which thinke to merit. Wee will worke as earnestly as if we thought to merit, and yet we wil be farre off from thinking that we merit, because when we haue done all that we are commaunded to doe, wee are but vnprofitable seruants, and therefore we will relie vpon the merits of Christ alone, renouncing our selues and our workes. Let them iudge then who are safest, they or we. Our difference is not concerning the worke it selfe, but only concerning the opinion which we ought to conceiue of the worke, they thinke honourably, wee basely, of our owne workes, but worke the same. And certainly, the worthinesse of workes doth not consist in the excellent opinion which we conceiue of them, but in the true and faithfull working, not in the pleasing of our selues with our selues, or any thing which procedeth from vs.

Iac. 17

*Of Free will.*1. Corint. 3.
Ierem. 10

THIS question hath bred some difference betweene vs in the schooles, and yet if we do vnderstand each other, we may be easily reconciled. For the scriptures speake so plainly, that they take away doubts. We are, say they, not of our selues sufficient to thinke a good thought, as of our selues, but all our sufficiencie is of God. The way of man is not in himselfe, neither is it in man to walke and direct his steps. No man commeth to Christ vnlesse

lesse the Father draw him. Draw me, and wee will runne after thee. What good I would doe, that doe I not, the euill which I would not doe, that doe I, saith the Apostle. To conclude therefore, there are three sorts of agents; the one working of his meere will and pleasure, which is God; the other of necessitie, which is nature; a third betweene both these extreames, partly of willingnesse, and partely of necessitie, which is man. And as no man is good against his will, so no man hath power to will any thing that is good, vnlesse God giue him that will. So saith the Apostle: It is God which worketh in you euen the wil and deede, of his owne good will and pleasure. And this will may be compared to the eye, which being in darkenesse, yer is not b'inde, neither doth it see without the especiall grace of God.

Iohn. 6
Cant. 1
Rom. 7

Phil. 1

Of Prayer.

WE inuocate God alone, who we are sure doth heare vs, and they confesse, that in so doing wee doe well, why then will they not ioyne with vs in well doing? But, as for Saints departed, when they pray to them, to be prayed for by them, they are not certaine that they doe heare them, because it cannot be sufficiently prooued; why then will they not pray with vs whose prayers they confesse to be voyde of exception? They denie not but that it is better to pray to God then to Saints, why then had they not rather be sure of the first place, then doubt of the second? Their prayer to Saints may breede a scruple in their conscience, whether they do well or no. For, if they heare them not, their prayers are idle words, but they must answere at the day of iudgement for euery idle word which they shall speake.

Math. 12.

As we pray not to Saints departed, so wee pray not for Saints or any other deceased. If they be in heauen, they neede not our prayers, if in hel, no prayers can helpe them, and we dare not say they are in purgatory, sith purgatory, by the confession of *Bel-lermaine*, is a tradition, & not contained in the scriptures. He writes that there be many things necessary to be known, which are not contained in the scriptures, he doth reckon them vp in order, and he placeth them so; first, that women were purged from sinne,

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though

though vncircumcised : secondly, that children that died before the eight day, were also purged from originall sinne : thirdly, many Gentiles in the old testament were saued : fourthly, that of necessitie there be some books which are the holy scriptures : fifthly, that it must be knowne which bookes are the holy scriptures : sixthly, that the bookes which wee haue in our hands are the holy scriptures : seauently, that the scriptures are to be vnderstood : eighthly, that *Mary* was a perpetuall Virgine : ninthly, that Easter is to be celebrated on the Lordes day : tenthly, that Infants are to be baptized : eleuenthy, purgatory : But marke his words, he saith, many things are necessary to be knowne, which are not contained in the scriptures, among those he maketh purgatory to be the eleuenth, therefore he affirmeth, that purgatory is a thing necessary to be knowne, and not in the scriptures, and yet as a man that would halte betweene two religions, to please vs, and not displease the Papists, doth lay it vpon *Luther*, saying, *Credit Lutherus purgatorium esse, & tamen asserit purgatorium non posse probari in sacris literis.* *Luther* saith, he belieueth that there is a purgatory, and yet saith, it cannot be prooued out of the scriptures. The question is, whether *Bellarmino* doth not say so as well as *Luther*. If he do not: first, why doth he not expresse his owne minde to the contrary in that place? secondly, why doth he in that long catalogue of such things as are not contained in the scriptures reckon purgatory to be the eleuenth? He sheweth that the ten h tradition or vwritten veritie is the baptisme of Infants, that *Luther* and *Caluin* hold it lawefull, and yet his selfe doth not refuse that opinion which they doe hold, and the like must be vnderstood concerning purgatory, that as *Luther* denieth purgatory to be contained in the scriptures, so doth *Bellarmino*, or else he doth contradict himselfe, which said before that *Purgatorium est vndecimum eorum quae ignorari non possunt, & tamen in scripturis non continentur.* Purgatory is the eleuenth of these things, whercof we may not be ignorant, and yet are not contained in the scriptures. Sith therefore *Bellarmino* repeating many things which are not contained in the scripture, of which one to be purgatory, and yet before as I haue shewd, granteth all things to be contained in the scriptures which are necessary for our saluation, that we should know them, ye must beare with vs

if we doe not belieue purgatorie, being no matter of saluation to vs to belieue it.

We pray in our mother tongue, what exception doe they take against it? Their priuate prayers are in English, as it appeareth by their Iesus psalter, their Manuall of Meditations, and sundry other prayer books which they haue printed, I would know why it might not be as lawfull to pray publikely in the same tongue. Which is more, I haue scene the Masse, by them set forth in Spanish, the Spanish being in one page of the booke, and the Latine in the other. In times past, the English testament was printed with the English in one page, and the Latine in the other, and licensed to be printed, and publikely sold by King *Philip* and *Qu. Mary*. And now of late our English Seminaries of *Rhemes* haue published the New Testament in English, with promise also to set forth the old, why may not the English Bible be published by vs as well as by the Seminaries, and as well be read publikely in our Church as in their houses? But to come to the point, See Greg. Mart. his preface at large concerning the Scriptures in English. *Bellarmino* confesseth those prayers which are in a knowne tongue to be beter then those which are not vnderstood, why then should not that which is inferiour giue place vnto that which is better? God is best pleased when he is best serued, and he is best serued where he is prayed vnto after the best maner. *Bellarmines* words are these: *Neg, his repugnant scripturæ ille: populus hic labiis meis honorat, &c: Si eam linguâ, spiritus meus erat, meus autem sine fructu est: In posteriore scripturâ, non reprehenditur oratio quæ non intelligitur sed ei antepositur oratio quæ intelligitur.* In the same chapter hee confesseth that the Pope gaue licence to the whole land of *Moravia*, to haue their publike seruice in their owne tongue, why should hee denie the same to vs? Idoubt not but hee woulde dispense with vs, if wee woulde take such a dispensation from him. If it be of it selfe euill, his dispensation cannot make it good, and if it be of it selfe good, and according to Gods word, it needeth not to be strengthened by his dispensation. As he cannot dispense against Gods word, so Gods word of it selfe is warranted without mans dispensation.

They obiekt, that vntil of late through the West parte of the world publike prayers were in Latine, in the Est part in Greeke, euen among those nations to whom these languages were n o mo-

ther tongues. I answer, that when these nations were first conuerted, they were subiect to the Romane Emperour, which spake Latine as his mother tongue, and therefore all endeoured to speake as the Emperour spake, although it were but broken Latine, and therefore receiued their Leiturgie in Latine. (And as for the East they spake Greeke, as commonly as the rest did speake Latine) so in *Wales* their mother tongue is Welch, in *Cornwall* Cornish, In *Ireland* Irish, yet in all these places the publike seruice is read in English, and the people haue applied themselves to speake English, because they are subiects to the King of *England*. But now the Weast part of the world, which was commonly called the Latine Church, is not subiect to any man that speaketh Latine as his proper language, and the Latine tong hath ceased to be familiar among the people, wherefore then should not their seruice be now in the tongue which they vnderstand, as in the beginning it was in the Latine which they then vnderstood? Godly discretion would thinke it fitte, now we haue the benefite of printing, which in the old time we had not, and wee haue such meanes to aduance religion, as our forefathers had not, that every people should haue their Leiturgie, not onely in that tongue which they doe vnderstand, as then it was, but also in that tongue which they doe naturally speake and best vnderstand, as nowe all reformed Churches almost haue. And this consideration moued the reuerend Father, Doctour *Morgan*, now Bishops of *Saint Asaph*, and Doctour *Goodman*, the late Deane of *Westminster*, to take paines for the translating and publishing of the Bible in the Welch tong, by which their trauailes and godly indeuours they haue aduanced the Ghospel in their owne country. And his Highnesse shal truly performe the office of a King, if he take order that all men, women, and children, may be brought to speake English, or else, that they may haue the leiturgie translated, and printed in the Irish tongue.

It hath bin objected in the defence of Latin seruice, that it is profitable for them vvich vnderstand it not, because, say they, publike praiers are not made to the people, but to god which vnderstandeth, in the behalfe of the people which vnderstand not. Euen as if an Advocate should pleade before a Iudge which vnderstandeth, for his Client which is not able to vnderstand the
state

state of his owne cause and busines, and yet is as effectually handled by the Aduocate, as if the Client did vnderstand I answered, that it is enough if the Aduocate vnderstand which pleadeth, because the Aduocate pleadeth alone, but if the Client should ioyne in plea with the Aduocate, it were necessary also that the Client should vnderstand, because without vnderstanding hee could not pleade, and speake for himselfe. But our parish Churches are ordained to this end, that not onely learned men should resort thither, as in Schooles and Colleges, which doe vnderstand Latine, but all ignorant people, for the sanctifying of the Sabbath, and exercise of their religion, that not onely the ministers there should pray for them, as the Aduocate alone speaketh for his Client, but they also should pray for their owne selues; and this is the difference betweene the courtes of earthly Iudges and the court of heauen. The people come not to the Church onely to be prayed for by the Minister, forso they may stay at home in their owne houses and be prayed for in the Church, but they come to pray themselves, both for others and for themselves, to ioyne with the minister in prayer, as the Apostle doth teach them saying: Now the God of patience and consolation graunt that ye may be like minded one to another according to Christ Iesus, that ye with one minde and one mouth may praise God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ. But this they cannot doe vnlesse they vnderstand. He that prayeth and vnderstandeth not his owne words, may thinke he prayeth when he sweareth, and when he prayeth, he knoweth not that he prayeth, as the high priest prophesied, but knew not that he did prophesie, as the parret which laugheth, knoweth not that he laugheth, and the Thrushes and black-birds sing, but know not that they doe sing. But because *Bellarmino* hath compared praying vnto pleading, what kinde of plea shall that be, which neither Client nor Aduocate doth vnderstand? It cannot be denied but in *Queene Marias* dayes, in many of our Churches the seruice was read, but not vnderstood, neither of the people, nor yet the priest; and so it is now in some countries, where *Sir Iohn Lacke-latine* hath the charge of soules, and vnderstandeth not the Masse which he readeth.

Bellarmino alleadgeth out of *Ezra*, that he read the law before the people, and prayed in a language which they vnderstood not,

Rom. 15

Iohn 12.

2. Ezr. 8

and yet that the people did answer AMEN. He did reade, faith he, in a strange language, that is, in the Hebrue, for he could not reade in the *Chalde*, because that is a paraphrase and no text, not in the *Syriac*, because that translation was not then extant, and as for the Hebrue, they vnderstood it not, as appeareth by these arguments; first, from the story, for after *Esdra*s had read, the Leuites came and interpreted, which had beene needelesse if they had vnderstood it themselves. The second from obseruation, For the Iewes, faith he, forgot their Hebrue tong being captiues seauentie yeares in *Babel*, and learned the language of the land where they dwelt which was *Calde*, and yet not able to speake it naturally, they spake a third kinde of dialect which was the *Syriac*, consisting partly of the Hebrue, and partly of the *Chalde*, which language to them became their mother tongue, as appeareth by the *Syriac* words in the gospel, which are therefore called Hebrue, because at that time the Hebrues spake them. I answered first to the story out of the story. The text hath: And *Ezra* the priest brought the law before the congregation both of men & women, and of all that could heare and vnderstand it. Againe, he read there in the streete that was before the water gate, from the morning vntill midday, before men and women, and them that vnderstood it. Therefore it is euident by the testimony of the holy ghost, that the people vnderstood that language wherein the law was written and read vnto them. *Bel-larmine* asketh what neede there was then of an expositor? I answered, the Leuites expounded not the words, but the sense; for the text saith: The Leuites caused the people to vnderstand the law, and in the next verse is explained, how the people were caused to vnderstand the law, not the words of the law, but the law it selfe, not the tongue wherein the law was written, but the meaning of it, for so it followeth in the 8. verse: And they read in the booke of the law of God distinctly, and gaue the sense, and caused the people to vnderstand the reading, that is, they preached vpon it. And forasmuch as the story saith: they read distinctly, what neede was there of distinct reading to them which vnderstood not the language?

I answered to his obseruation. Forasmuch as the *Chalde* and *Syriac* were but dialects of the Hebrew, as the *Doric* and *Ionic* are

are but Dialects of the Greeke, and the Scottish tongue is a dialect of the English: it was incredible that the Iewes in their captiuitie, hauing among them Propheets and zealous Priests, their selues being also zealous, and fully assured to returne againe, should so forget their tongue, as not to vnderstand their owne Bible, so well as the *Doric* vnderstand common Greeke, and the Scottish men do vnderstand English. But which is more, although the manner of the Iewes euer hath bin when they were dwelling in strange places, to speake the language of the place where they dwelt, as I know by my owne experience the Iewes at *Frankesfort* speake Dutch, of *Prage* *Bohemish* &c: which tongues haue no affinitie with the Hebrew, yet in all places their seruice is in Hebrew, and their custome as it hath bene, so still continueth, to teach their Children so much Hebrew, as may be sufficient to vnderstand the Bible, and it is manifest by the storie that the Iewes in *Babylon* did the like.

Last of all. Concerning our prayers, if they do well looke ouer their owne missall or Masse-booke which was vsed in *England* according to the custome of *Sarum*, and conferre it with our Service booke, they shall finde that there are few things in it, but they are either taken out of the Bible, or which was good, in that missal, so that they cannot easily mislike our service booke, vnlesse they will condemne a best parte of their owne Masse-Booke and the Bible. So then, they may safely come to our Church, we cannot without violating our conscience come to theirs, our prayers are in English which all they vnderstand, their prayers are in Latin which our people vnderstand not; they pray for the dead without warrant, we for the liuing, for the which they confesse wee haue warrant enough, they pray to the dead, which wee for iust causes disallow, wee pray to the liuing onely, I meane the liuing God, against which they take no exception.

Of the Sacraments.

Concerning the number of Sacraments, we will not dispute, for as they define a Sacrament, there are more than seauen, as we define it, there are but two. This therefore shall not breed any

any such iarre betweene vs, that therefore wee should refuse to communicate together.

Of Baptisme.

WEe hold them which are baptized in the Church of Rome to be so sufficiently baptized, that they may not be baptized againe; neither do they rebaptize them which haue bin baptized in our Church.

Of the Lordes Supper.

1. Corint. 11

AS often as we be made partakers of the Lordes Table, wee receive the Lords body, because he hath saide it his owne selfe. We receiue it with reuerence and deuotion, because it is his body. For we must not, as the Apostle speaketh, eate it vnworthily, lest so we be guiltie of the Lords body, neither will we eate our owne damnation, for not discerning the Lordes bodie. But how it is his body we cannot see by the eyes of our bodies, or humane reason, neither can they, onely wee discerne it by the eyes of faith, and so ought they to do. *Stephen Gardiner*, and the learned of their Church were wont to say, it was his bodie *ineffabilimodo*, after an vspeakable maner, after such a maner as mens tongues could not vtter. And therefore, as the Vniuersitie of *Tiguri* putteth them in minde, they seeme to haue forgotten what they said before when they take vpon them to *fari modum*, that is, to expresse in plaine terms of logicke, & yet cleane contrary and repugnant to the rules of logicke, his body to be really, naturally, and substantially hidden and comprehended vnder the accidents of bread. It is very strange, both to expresse that which they say cannot be expresse, and that the accidents of bread, can haue their being, when the bread it selfe hath no being, in whose only being their essence and being doth consist.

Contr'a testament. Brentij.

But be it as it is, no man can know more or sooner than God wil reueale, what expositions soeuer the subtiltie and varietie of mens wits do deuise; this sacrament is in our Church administred by vs as it was by our Sauior Christ, and is set downe in the story of the Gospell. I would know therefore what exception they take

take against it, why they should not receive it with vs: It is no scruple or barre to their consciences in what sence we do vnderstand it, so as we deliuer it vnto them according to the true manner and forme of our Saviour Christ his institution. And if they will submit themselves to the lawes of our Church, and receive it at our handes, we will not be over-hastie with them to examine them how they doe expound the wordes, *Hoc est corpus meum*: This is my bodie. For we know they cannot eate it but by faith, and so we wil leaue them to Gods mercy, that he would vouchsafe in good time further to satisfie them, lay open, and reueale his truth vnto them.

CHAP. III. Of Scisme.

They alleadge we are Scismatikes, because we have made a defection from the Catholike Church, and withdrawne our neckes out of the yoke of obedience to the head of the Church which is the Bishop of Rome, and that being seperated from the head, we cannot be liuing members of that mysticall body. My answer is; The head of the Church is Christ, and we as members are conglutinate and ioyned vnto that head, and to them which obiect that our Saviour Christ in his absence must haue his Deputy, that the Deputy or Vicar generall of Christ is the Holy-Ghost, which hath the gouernement of the Church. Euen as *Elias* ascending vp let his mantle downe vpon *Elisai*, to be with him in his steade: so our Saviour departing from vs sent downe the Holy-Ghost to possesse his roome, and to abide with vs vntill the end of the world: Take heede, saith the Apostle, to your selues, and to all the flocke whereof the holy-ghost hath made you ouer-seers; so then the Holy-Ghost hath the gouernement of the Church. But say they, a visible body must haue a visible head proportionably to the body, and therefore some one man must be ouer the Church, I deny not but weakemen desire a visible obiect still before their eyes, as the Israelites when *Moses* was out of their sight but a few dayes, would make a calfe to be their gouernour, rather than they would want one to be visibly resident among them. And therefore our Saviour, because we should not in his absence committe

1. Cor. 12.

2. Reg. 3.

Act. 3.

Math. 28.

Act. 20.

Exod. 32

the like idolatry, did leave the visible Sacrament of the Eucharist among vs saying : This is my body. But yet I do answer that a similitude must not, as the Schoolemen say, *Currere quatuor pedibus* : agree in all things. First therefore, it is not simply necessarie that the visible bodie should still have a visible head in sight, as if it could not stand without such an head. For God had his Church visible vpon the earth before the Papacie, and before the Incarnation of Christ, but Christ the head of the Church before his incarnation could not be a visible head. So therefore, as Christ in his Godhead alone before hee was borne, was the head of his Church, though invisible; likewise he now in his Godhead and Manhoppe vnited together, head of the church visible, although vpon the earth not to be seene. Secondly, the time hath beene when there was a long vacancie of the Popedom, by reason of ciuill dissention; yet the Church then stood without such an head. Thirdly, no sinfull man is able to discharge such an office as to be ouer-seer of the vniuersal church. Fourthly, there must be such an influence of necessity from the head to the body, as cannot possibly be from any man to the Church. Fifthly, the Pope neuer was reputed as head of the whole Church for the East part of the world, that is, the Greeke Church was ever so auerse from the Sea of Rome, that it could neuer yet be brought, either to obedience to the Pope, or to ioynt in rites and ceremonies with his Church; or to be incorporated into that body, or to vse the same leiturgie and forme of prayer which that Church vseth. All appellations amongst them haue bin to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*; as to the highest Bishop. Sixtly, what authoritie ouer the Pope hath had ouer the Latine Church and West part of the world; it hath beene giuen him by humane constitutions onely, and generall consent of Princes and States, which they suffered him to enioy, during their owne good liking, and no longer. And last of all, our owne experience can enforme vs, that the Catholike princes which are most of all deuoted to the Sea of Rome, will be so farre subiect as they thinke fit, and no further. *Charles* the sixt, late Emperor and King of *Spaine*, tooke prisoner, *Clement* the Pope, when hee resisted his proceedings in *Italie*; and Queene *Mary* made her Cousin *Cardinal Pale* Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie* though the Pope with-
stood

Stobditt neither doe the Kings of France, though of the Romish religion, euer suffer the Popes to beare any stroke in the election of their Bishops. I wish therefore that they would be better aduised before they lay scisme vnto our charge.

Chap. V. Of Discord, and Inconstancie.

THe vsuall obiections against vs. were wont to be, that wee haue sects and diuisions among vs. But so had they oftentimes, *Actius* against *Pigbins*, *Thomas* against *Sextus*, so had the Apostles *Peter* against *Paul*, and *Paul* against *Barnabas*; some were of *Paul*, some of *Apollo*, and some of *Cephas*. We contend about white and blacke, round and square, but in matters of religion, we agree. That concerning the booke of common prayer, when the masse was first put downe, king *Henry* had his English Leiturgie, and that was iudged absolute without exception, but when King *Edward* came to the Crowne, that was condemned, and other in the place which *Peter Martyr*, and *Bucer* did approoue as very consonant to Gods word. When Queene *Elizabeth* beganne his raigne, the former was iudged to be full of imperfections, and a new was devised, and allowed by the consent of the Clergie. But about the middle of her raigne wee grew weary of that booke, and great meanes haue beene wrought to abandon that, and establish another, which although it was not obtained: yet we doe, at the least, at euery change of Prince, change our booke of common prayers; we be so wanton that we know not what we would haue. I answer, they haue done the like, they cannot denie it, for proofe whereof I resorte them to the preface which is before their owne Breuiary; wherein it is specified, how many times their owne Breuiary hath beene altered,

It is no discredit, either to them, or vs, to alter for the better, and to correct that which we finde amisse. All faults are not espied at once, neither is all truth reuealed at once. But it is damnable to perseuere and continue in an error after it is found out, and not to imbrace a truth after it is reuealed. The Church had a time of growing three hundred yeares after Christ, being then

Rom 1

watered, and made fruitful by the blood of Martyrs; this the religion of *Rome* was found, according to that which *Saint Paul* doth testify in his Epistle to the *Romanes*, the Bishops thereof continued zealous, and were commonly martyred. The Church had a time of flourishing three hundred yeares, which beganne when *Constantine* the great granted peace vnto the gospel, and persecution ceased, so long sound doctrine was preached. But the Church afterward beganne to decay and so went backward vntill *Gregory* the great, in whose time corruption began to creepe in, and foraine over the whole body of the Church, and euery christian Kingdome which were members of that body. So that the whole visible Catholike Church through the world was mightily deformed. Then *Luther* in his time beganne a reformation againe, though he reformed not the whole, yet he reformed some partes, like a Physitian, which finding a mans body full of sores, healeth some members, although he be not able to restore the whole to his first integrity. Neither did *Luther* reforme those parts vnto the full, by reason of the shortnesse of his life, and the greatnesse of the cure which he vnder-tooke, but left somewhat to be reformed after him by *Caluin* and *Beza*, which as they came after him, so they saw more truth then was reuealed vnto him (for it did not please God to reueale all truth to one man, or in one age.) So then, as a Physitian which being not able to cure the whole body, cureth some partes and members, and yet being prevented by death, doeth not so perfectly restore those partes which hee cureth vnto their former strength and agilitie, but leaueth his worke to be finished by others; so did *Luther* by the Church. The Clergie of *England* therefore in King *Henrys* dayes established religion and ordered their seruice booke according to that small portion and measure of knowledge which then they had. In the dayes of King *Edward* and Queene *Elizabeth*, more light was reuealed then before, and those errors which were espyed, were amended. And as it was no shame for vs to reforme our errors when wee espyed them; so it must needs be vnexcusable to the Church of *Rome* to continue in their errors: now they are layde open before them, or to wink at nooneday that they will not see them. The Lord of all mercie through Iesus Christ, gaue them

and

and wish his grace, that we may agree together in on truth, and as
 sheepe of one fold, hearken only to the voice of him which is the
 great Shepheard of our soules, which is Iesus Christ. Amen.
 I thought it requisite to forbear multitude of quotations of
 plates; and allegations of Doctors and Scholemen; because
 this Treatise was written for the instruction of the ignorant. I
 have, upon purpose, affected the similitude, because my desire was
 that every one should read it. Some Latine sentences of *Be-
 larmin* I have produced, that the Adversarie might not charge
 me as if I had falsified anything, or dealt other wise than ingeni-
 ously. I have alleaged those places only which were so perti-
 nent to this business, which I have in hand as they could not be
 well omitted; And I have refused to handle some other ques-
 tions, which perhappentime would be very pleasing to the Rea-
 der, because authorities hath not judged it convenient they should
 be discussed: Let us not some strange which I have written, that
 the learned Papists shie from their ancient defences, and cleave
 to *Oliver*, and that *William* the great *Galilei* of *Rome*, in his works
 which beare a title as if they were written wholly against vs, doth
 in many points hold with vs, and in those very points iustifie vs,
 wherein he is thought to condemne vs; that in very many things
 he is a Protestant, or at the least, not a Papist, that the Roman
 religion is refined, for it will plainly appeare to all iudicious and
 indifferent readers. I have spoken of this argument more at
 large, in mine answer to *Belarmin* foure bookes *de verbo Dei*,
 and his five bookes *de Christo*; which had bene published be-
 fore this time, had it not bene for the great difficultie of print-
 ing Latine bookes here in *London*, but are now beyond the Seas
 to be printed, and I will obserue the like in the rest of his workes,
 which I do intend to answer if God shal giue me life and health,
 and blesse my labours. There be many Iesuites and Seminaries,
 dispersed in this land, into whose handes I doubt not but this
 booke will come, which if they will but remember what *Frim*
 and *Thummin* ought to be, in *peElore Aaronis*, in the heartes of
 Gods Ministers, if they will read without partialitie, and that I

may use their own phrase of speech, speake sincerely, and in
verbo Sacrosancto, what they thinke, I submit my selfe to their cen-
 sure whether I haue deliuered a truth or no; and I perswade my
 selfe that if they haue that integritie whereof they make profes-
 sion, they will not deny one truth to gaine many worldes. But
 thus much haue I written at this time, for the discharge of my
 conscience, the zeale I beare to the truth, and the instruction of
 them which hitherto haue not vnderstoode themselves. I pray
 G O D my perswasion may perswade. His Maiestie hath
 professed that he will establish the truth, if he do not, that I may
 with reuerence and in all duty use his owne wordes, his bookes
 will witness against him, at the latter day. He may doe it, if he
 be assisting to his Ministers. But he cannot do it, vnesse he pro-
 uide that there be a learned Ministry through the land, that the
 learned be preferred before the vnllearned, they which labor in
 the word, before them which are idle, that they be preferred ac-
 cording to their worth, that they be sufficiently provided for,
 that they be countenanced by his Highnesse, his Nobles, the
 gentry, but especially by the Iudges of the Land, that they haue no
 rights denied vnto them, which of due they may challenge out
 of Gods word. And this his Maiestie shall neuer effect, vnesse
 he preferre religion before policie, remove *Simonie* out of his
 his seruice, abandon flatterie, banish *Simonie* out of the Church,
 and briberie out of his house and all his Courts. The Lord con-
 tinue and increase his zeale, that he may raigne ouer vs like *Exo-
 buchus*, to Gods glory, the advancement of the Gospel, our
 happiness, the comfort of his owne soules, which
 he shall one day feele to be more precious
 vnto him than all his kingdome.

Of Reculancie.

To the Protestant Reader.

Be it very farre from the seruants of God that they should mistake me, or conceiue any sinister opinion of my intentions, as if I dealt too fauorably with the Papists. For they ought to consider of mine intent & purpose, which is not to exasperate and prouoke them to anger, but to perswade the, which I cannot do by bitter speeches, neither yet by burdening them with any vntroths. The spirit of meeknes doth best become Christ his ministers, and the worde of God hath taught me to deale charitablie with all men, but especially to restore them which haue fallen, by gentlenesse, not to breake the brused reede, nor to quench the smoking flaxe. That I am not of their mind this booke testifieth sufficiently enough. That I do not make more fauourable constructions of their Doctrine than truth and veritie doth require, their doctrine it selfe doth shew. How much I dissent from them, my Sermon doth witnesse which I preached at S. *Pauls* Crosse about eight yeares since and published in print, wherein I shewed that the state of the Papacie was Antichrist. In it I set downe, as I hope, though a briefe, yet a full and perfect state of the question; what was wanting in words, by reason of the shortnes of time, was supplied in substance, I answered all obiections out of *Bellarmin* and *Saunders*, which were of moment, that it might be an helpe to others which should afterward deliuer the same againe in more wordes, and larger volume. The God of al wisdome and knowledge direct their harts and mindes to the true knowledge of his worde through Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.